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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. HILL: Hello, I'd like to welcome everyone today to our webinar on citizenship, civics and civic education. I'm Fiona Hill, a Senior Fellow here at the Bookings Institution. This is for some of you, maybe a follow on from an event webinar that we did on May 4th with the National Commission on Military National and Public Service for the launch of their report on investigating how much more people can play a role in the life of the country. The National Commission was set up in part in response to the anniversary that's coming up on JFK's call to service next year and we were delighted as Brookings Institution to be able to join forces with the Commission. During the webinar that we had on May 4th, the issue of civics education and citizenship, civic engagement as an issue came up repeatedly, so we decided that we would do this event within the following month. Of course, since we've put this in motion, a lot of events have happened and we're against the backdrop. In fact, right now today, of the funeral for George Floyd down in Texas is actually occurring as we speak. We wanted to be very mindful of the weight of this occasion and the issues that are raised by all of the protests that we've been experiencing and many of us have been taking part in over the last several weeks. We wanted to also then in this context, address head-on issues of race and racial discrimination in education, and in that sense of citizenship here in the United States. I wanted to introduce everyone today to our panelists and then I'm going to turn it over to my colleague, Avril Haines, who was a member of the National Commission, and we'll talk a little bit about how that got set up in 2017 and what the goals of the Commission were. I'm then going to turn over to Reuben Brigety, who we're really delighted could join us today. Reuben has just left his position as the dean of the Elliott School of the George Washington University, and tomorrow he leaves to go and take up a new position as the vice chancellor and President of the University of the South. We're very grateful to get him before he literally leaves Washington, D.C. tomorrow, so Reuben, thank you very much for joining us. Then, turn over also to my Brookings colleague, Andre Perry, who many of you might have actually been catching on other webinars and out on the media. Andre is the author of a new book, "Know Your Price", which deals with the issues of discrimination and education housing in the urban fabric of America against African Americans and other minority groups. Andre will have a lot to say on this topic. We'll then turn over to other Brookings colleagues, Richard Reeves, the

author of “Dream Hoarders”, which talks about again also the problem of overcoming inequalities in education. Richard talks a lot about these topics. Rebecca Winthrop, who has another book. There’s lots of people with books out there, which I hope that people will buy at the end of this. Hopefully, it will inspire you to go out and get copies of these books, which really gave us a lot of blueprints for action here. Rebecca has another book, “Leapfrogging and Equality”, which is also pushing this issue of education and civics in a global perspective. We’re really delighted to have joining us all the way from Arizona, Jonathan Koppell, who is the dean of the School for Public Policy at the University of Arizona. Jonathan Koppell and his colleagues have already put into motion a whole educational program at ASU that deals with many of the issues that we’re discussing today, which we think could be a very good model for other similar institutions across the country. Thank you very much everyone for joining us. We’ve got several hundred people here today. I’ve got a host of questions that have already been sent in. I just ask people who would like to additionally ask questions to put them into the chat function and we will then have a moderated discussion among the team. Thank you so much again everyone for taking part. Avril, over to you and thank you.

MS. HAINES: Thanks so much, Fiona. I really appreciate your attention, frankly, to the work of the commission and the remarkable panelists that you’ve assembled today and the commitment of Brookings to the topic of the panel. Frankly, even though this panel was planned before the current protest in response to the killing of George Floyd, I cannot think of a better time to discuss the importance of strengthening our democracy, the value of civic engagement and the role that service can play in our society, helping us to unite and to address some of the unacceptable racial and economic inequities that exist in the United States. I’ll just start by giving frankly, a brief introduction to the commission and then explain why we spend so much time on the role of civics education as it connects to service. I think the main idea is really to hear from many of the panelists who are true experts on these topics. Congress created the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service, which is the commission I served on, as Fiona mentioned, in the 2017 National Defense Authorization Act and tasked it specifically to conduct a review of the military selective service process and also to consider methods to increase participation in military, national and public service in order to address national security and other public

service needs of the nation. The commission, which is bipartisan, it's pretty unusual in certain respects, but in particular, it's the first time in history that a commission was tasked to holistically review all forms of service. As a consequence, we were really able to take a look of service and its role in society in a more comprehensive way, frankly. After two and a half years of extensive research, public hearings, conversations with Americans across the country going to different states, over 40 cities and so on, the commission released its report "Inspired to Serve" on March 25th. You can find it on our website, which is www.inspire2serve.gov. Basically, in going around the country we found people in every corner of the United States who were engaged in service, committed to strengthening their communities, but in a nation of 329 million, only about 7% of the population is engaged in service. We've just not unlocked essentially the potential of service to address the critical national and local needs that we need to address and to reinforce what I think of is frankly the civic fabric of American society. We propose in the report a vision of a nation in which service is the common expectation and experience of all Americans, when it's the norm, not the exception. A vision of that frankly requires an enormous investment, an investment in civic education, service learning, and resources that promote awareness and access to service opportunities to everyone, and not just those parts of society who can afford to volunteer or happen to know or are related to somebody who's engaged in service. For service to really have the impact in our society that we believe it can have, it has to be inclusive and it has to be diverse. Our recommendations, of which there are about 164, provide a kind of roadmap for the investments that are needed in our infrastructure by 2013 in order to realize the vision that we sort of set forth. This vision is essentially one in which every American might consider a career in the military and public service or serving as an AmeriCorps member, making a difference while developing skills to help them in future endeavors, job professions and other things, and one in which we have a diverse group of qualified individuals serving in the armed forces minimizing the need for traditional military recruiting; a million individuals annually taking up federally-supported national service opportunities and modernized government personnel systems attracting and enabling a diverse set of Americans with critical skills and new generations to enter public service. Finally, I'll just say a few words about the civics education piece. The commission, frankly, did not set out to review civics. It's actually nowhere mentioned in the statute, and yet, nearly every

conversation or meeting we had around the country included a call to improve civics education. In fact, one of our findings, based on research and related to the relationship between education and service was that a high quality of civics education plays a critical role in creating informed and engaged citizens who are more likely as a consequence to pursue service throughout their life. Yet, as Rebecca's writing, frankly, on this has indicated, we are seeing declining levels of civic engagement around the country, a trend that started several decades ago, and we need to reverse that trend. It's not all that surprising in some respects if you look at the resources that we've invested into civics education. What we've found is that annual and federal funding for civics education declined from about 150 million in 2010 to about 5 million today, that's available in discretionary funds from the Department of Education. The federal government spends it's said $54 per student for STEM education, which I think is very important, but it shows what we can do when we are actually focused on a problem as opposed to $0.05 per student on civics education. Less than 25% of eighth graders were rated proficient in the latest national civics assessment. We included recommendations in our report to strengthen and expand civics education in America so that by 2031, our vision is that all K through 12 students are exposed to civic education and all fourth, eighth, and 12th grade students test at or above proficiency in the National Assessment of Educational Progress Test in civics. We recommended, and this is the one place where we put basically numbers -- here is a dollar amount that we're recommending to Congress be put aside. We recommended that a civics education fund be created at the Department of Education that provides 200 million dollars annually in seed grants to state and local education agencies and higher education to promote civics education, applied civics, service learning including teacher training opportunities and a portion of funds reserved for school districts in high need communities. To make it clear, part of our thinking was how do we make sure it gets to everyone. The commission proposes that at least 50% of the Civics Education Grant funding be reserved for programs at high needs schools. Furthermore, while grantees from non-high need schools will be required to match grant funds, this requirement does not apply to high need schools. Finally, the commission explicitly recommendations including nonprofit organizations as allowable grantees with the aim that nonprofits can support their local community schools and may not have enough, frankly, administrative support to apply for or manage a federal grant.

We have recommendations to promote the adoption of high quality civics education by increasing federal incentives, piloting at innovative approaches, sharing best practices; a whole series of things that we get into in that space. I think in addition to that, as we also talk about service learning in the report as well, which is very much connected and I'm sure we'll get into some of these questions as we go further, but I very much thank you for giving us an opportunity to talk about this.

MS. HILL: Thank you very much, Avril. Reuben, you have been living this as the dean of one of Washington, D.C.'s most prominent institutions. You're obviously moving at a very critical time in American politics and in civic life to a new position at the University of the South, which is obviously one of the most venerable and older institutions in the south of the country. You're dealing with these kinds of issues on a regular basis and it would be great to hear from you some of your thoughts in response to the findings of the Commission and ideas on how we might be able to move forward in concrete ways.

MR. BRIGETY: Sure. Thanks, Fiona. Good afternoon everyone. It's an honor for me to be part of this conversation with so many highly respected colleagues and to see some of you again after it's been a while. Let me just say a few things. First of all, the one part of my resume that Fiona did not mention that is relevant is that I am an active volunteer with the Boy Scouts of America, which now accepts girls. The reason that's important is that I believe deeply in the importance of civic education and community service and inculcating that in our young people as early as possible. I have personally found for our family that the Scouts is also a fantastic way for us to do that. I think it goes a bit to Avril's point that there are people in every corner of our country that are doing this so work, but not enough relative to the overall population. The pathways to doing so are myriad. The second thing I would say, when I was Dean at the Elliott school, one of the things I would say to our students all the time is that mind you, we don't lack sufficient knowledge of most of the world's problems. What we lack is sufficient leadership. Leadership is something really quite specific. It's the ability to bring people together to solve problems in a way in which they would not do absent the application of such leadership. As it relates to civic engagement and community service broadly, my worry is that we don't lack either a comprehensive view of the problem or an understanding of the resources both financial and human that are necessary to apply against it. We certainly don't lack an understanding of how vulnerable our country is by virtue of our

various fissures that can tear us apart if we don't actively try to work together to heal them. My worry is that we do not have the sufficient political will in our country to be able to overcome the various hurdles that will lead us to enact many of these very basic recommendations. I'll give you a few examples. On the one hand, civic education, civics as our parents took it back in the day, seems innocuous enough and yet, this is certainly true in a higher education environment, runs right up against this question of full intellectual freedom. Civics for some people actually sounds like indoctrination to others because it presumes that there is a right way for us to approach the organization of our society and the values on which those organizations should allowed to be based. I'm very comfortable with that personally because I think that we could have any number of political differences about the nature of what the size of government ought to be or various policies, but the very essence of a community has to be a basic set of values and have assumptions from which we can all commune. Right? Whether it's even just been quite frankly the massive public debate about the nature of the common core curriculum on everything from how do you teach mathematics to what ought to be in the appropriate literary cannon that we're teaching our kids in middle school and high school, this question of how do we teach and what ought we teach as a matter of priority, our students from across the country about how they ought to relate to each other and what their responsibility is to the commonweal is not as simple as it sounds. It's not as simple ideologically as it presents. The reason that is significant is that our ability to get to an implementation of the sorts of recommendations that the Commission has articulated depends on politics. It depends on our being able -- I don't mean partisan politics, I mean our being able to create a broad enough consensus that this is what we ought to be doing. I would submit that as Fiona mentioned, the convulsion that our country is in right now as a result of the brutal killing of George Floyd, both in and of itself, but also for all that it recalls in our country and also with Breonna Taylor and on and on, can be a watershed moment in a sense that it has launched protests around the world, the likes of which I would argue we have not seen ever, in the recognition that something is really deeply wrong in what ought to be the greatest democracy in the world. If this is not enough to bring us together to say, you know what, we may not agree on everything, but we know that we need to fix this, then God knows what would be. The final thing I would say is, when I was dean at the Elliott school, I made it a point to emphasize the teaching of

ethics in international affairs as a core component of what is needed to be an effective foreign policy practitioner. We created something that we call the LEAP Initiative, Leadership Ethics and Practice Initiative, which is led by one of Avril's colleagues, Chris Kojm and Fiona's as well, that is meant to help our students orient their moral compass as it relates to their professional practice. As we've often said, we're not going to tell you what to think but we want you to have sufficient insight so that you know what doing the right thing feels like. My hope is that given the individual, rugged individualism that is in the DNA of our country, more people in positions of authority and responsibility will assume responsibility to try to start those conversations in their respective institutions, whether those institutions be colleges of higher learning or their institutions be a local coffee shop. All of us have a role to play in our respective communities and my hope is that we will take the most of our individualism as free people and take responsibility for it as a means of trying to build common bonds with community. Thanks very much.

MS. HILL: Thank you, Reuben. I couldn't agree more. Andre, you've been writing about some of the barriers to actually implementing this for some time. Institutions may actually get the will to make change, but often resources become a problem. I think for your book, "Know Your Price" is very much analyzing and also describing all of the problems that many communities here across America and within communities are facing. Reuben talked about people across the country feeling a shared sense, but even people in small towns and large cities don't feel like they're part of the same community because of divisions broke it down as Avril said, economic inequality or racial divide. Andre, I would love to hear your thoughts on this issue as well.

MR. PERRY: Thanks Fiona for that. I sympathize a lot with what Reuben said. I was the former Dean that actually managed charter schools in New Orleans, so I have a lot to say about this. I also managed those schools in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, so I know that times of crisis give institutions an opportunity to assess what matters most. It's not hard to notice that democracy is in deep trouble. Trump's winks and nods to white supremacists, voter suppression, hyper-partisanship and the rising distress of government suggests a lack of basic knowledge and care for the principles of a democracy. Over the last few decades, education reform has put a hyper-focus on math and literacy skills at the expense of civic education. Without question, quantitative and qualitative literacy as you

heard, are critical for involved and community growth, but the advancement of academic skills void of democratic principles will have the country move further into a land of anomy and descent. Education isn't just affected by this problem; it is a part of it. Tribal battles around charter schools, so-called intelligent design curricula that disavows science, as well as school to prison pipelines are both causal and symptomatic of a sickly democracy that educators have a responsibility to heal. In the face of nativism, anomy and extreme intolerance, it's clear that educators have a civic duty to return the educational system to its basic democratic aims. Educational leaders, as I said, must be responsible. When it comes to creating antiracist democratic communities, it's better to show than to tell, meaning society is better off when students see equity in funding and diversity amongst the ranks of educational systems, rather when they hear lessons about the importance of inclusion, civility and good government. As a former school leader, we used to have students, teachers and communities engage in projects that occur outside of the curriculum and in civics education, we talk a lot about projects. It's clear that the projects that we should rally behind should involve something around deconstructing the structural racism that inhibits economic and social mobility among black Americans. A lot of my research looks at these structures. The anchor project or research of my book, "Know Your Price", I looked at home prices in black neighborhoods and compared them to home prices in white neighborhoods where they share the black population's lessened percent. We control for all those things, the reasons why people say home prices in black neighborhoods are lower. We control for education, crime, walkability and all those fancy Zillow metrics you hear about. What we found simply astounds, that homes in black neighborhoods are devalued or undervalued by 23%, about $48,000 per home, about $156 billion in lost equity that amounts to. That $156 billion should be going to individual families to send their kids to college, to start businesses. It should be used by municipalities to fund policing and vital services like education. I say this to say that you can't get to civics education or even a level of civility if society has structures that inhibit the growth of African-Americans and other groups structurally. Part of what my charge is to you is to say that yes, we need projects that engender a sense of civility, a sense of civics education that goes beyond the rote math and reading lessons you get in school and that we emphasize. However, the projects that engage in civics education has to work on the structures that inhibit economic and social

growth. With that, I'm going to pass it off to the next speaker.

MS. HILL: Thank you so much, Andre. That really frames actually very well, I think, Richard Reeves, who I'm going to ask to come in next. Richard's book, "Dream Hoarders" talks exactly as your book does as well, about these problems across the United States. Richard, I'll just turn it over to you to speak to this yourself because you've been a very strong advocate at really trying to address all of these structural inequalities in education.

MR. REEVES: Thank you, Fiona. Actually, my comments I think follow very much from what we've already heard. My work has looked at both inequalities of class and race and the way they intersect and I'm now looking even more closely at issues around gender and sex as well. I'll keep my remarks brief. There's three points I want to make really, and this is in the spirit of the discussion that I think we need to have at this particular moment. The idea of a social fabric or a civic fabric is a very attractive one to many of us, and of course it can be something that unifies us, brings us together and serves justice. I think we need to be honest, too, about the fact that sometimes the language of social fabric or a civic fabric can be used as a cloak, as a way to cover up and to disguise the kinds of structural hard inequalities that so many Americans face. I think it's important to put that on the table in a way that Andre just did it. It's not one or the other of course, but I think that one of the reasons some people are skeptical about language around social capital civics, education and so on, is they fear, not completely wrongly, that in the wrong hands, it will distract tension from the structural inequalities that we face. It's in that spirit that I just make a couple of suggestions about how we think about both service opportunities and civics. I think we need the kind of service that really does promote equity and justice, and it does so in a couple of ways. One, in the opportunities that it provides for people to serve, how accessible are our service opportunities to different people at different times. Right now, I think we'd all agree on this, that the way that service is funded and structured is not equitable and we would need to want those service opportunities to be more equitable before I think we could respond and simply ask for massive expansion. If you look just right now at the numbers, my colleague, Sarah Unzale is breaking these numbers for me. Many of you know these numbers better than me, but to take AmeriCorps as an example, if you look at the alumni and changes over time, two-thirds white, two-thirds women, and two-thirds of AmeriCorps

alumni had parents with at least a four-year college degree. A third of them had parents with a post graduate degree. I think we just need to face that lack of representation really clearly and do something about that. I think it's also important at this moment to highlight the particular position of black men. Obviously, Andre's work, and if you're going to buy one book, buy Andre's new book, really I think highlights some of these issues that right now I think the particular intersection of injustices faced by men of color, and in particular African-American men, is something we have to have at the front of our mind. It's not only the black men are less likely to be able to access or wanting to access these service opportunities in terms of civic service, but even in the military. Uniquely, there's a very big gender gap in military service. The black women are twice as likely to serve in the military as black men. There are lots of reasons for that of course, but that's the other way around for whites, for example. Right now, neither military service nor civic service is really reaching or appealing to the men in society who as Andre and Reuben have both, I think pointed out, are the ones who are in many cases the ones who are most concerned in terms of upward mobility and opportunities. I also just think in terms of the processes of service as well, it's crucially important that when service is delivered, it's delivered in a way that gives voice to and power to the least advantaged communities that we have and are generally collaborative, lift up and revalue those communities. That's obviously something that needs to be baked into the design. The last point is more about civics. What do we mean by civics and civics education? What are we educating people for? Are we educating for justice and equity? I think there is a danger sometimes and Andre was just talking a bit about civility. I think I know what he meant by it, but other people use that word differently. What other people mean by that is you shouldn't protest. You shouldn't dissent. We don't want conflict. We don't want anger. That is not what it's about. Civics can never be and should never be about civility. Civics in a vibrant democracy is all about descent when it's appropriate. It's all about righteous anger. It's all about collision, disagreement. It's all about creating a space within which we can fiercely disagree with each other, protest for civil rights, and do so on the basis of a profound respect for each other, even as we fundamentally disagree with each other, even as we struggle towards a better way of doing things. It has to be on the basis of respect because respect and disrespect are some of the things that we're lacking on the one hand, then we have to build sense of respect. Andre's

work on devaluation, I think is the other side of the coin, the racist coin of disrespect. We need a civics and a service that promotes the right kind of dissent based on profound respect and equal valuation of human life in every way.

MS. HILL: That's great, Richard. Thank you very much for underscoring those points. Rebecca, this is also a debate in other settings internationally. We've had quite a few questions that have come in about how do others in Europe or worldwide define these issues, too? I'm thinking of what Richard just said there about this being really more about engagement as a citizen. It's not about civility, it's about how do you find ways of disagreeing with each other in a respectful manner and being politically engaged without basically being disrespectful, without hurting your fellow citizens. How do we see other countries dealing with how they enrich the civic fiber of their democracies or in other settings? We've had a lot of questions from people about other successful models of a kind of civic education approach that we would like to adopt here, and service from other countries that we can look to. Rebecca, obviously that's something that you've been working on very closely.

MS. WINTHROP: Yes, thank you, Fiona. I think it would be helpful just to think a little bit before I get to the other countries, about the place of public education in the United States, because service learning is very important and helpful. By and large, not that many people in the U.S. participate in it, and I think the Commission has said we want more people, which is great. Richard made the point, well as long as it's equitably accessible and one presumes that's because it's poorly paid so people with not a lot of money can't afford it. The core of how civic skills and dispositions have been developed for a long time has been through public education. Really, it was sort of the driving force mid-1800s, the father in the education world, the father of the Common Schools Movement, is a man by the name of Horace Mann. His main argument was mid-1800s, a new republic, was we'd have all these sporadic schools here, there and everywhere, if we're going to make people who can live in a republic together in a democracy, we have to invest in making republicans, not the political party, but people who live in a republic. That is really the spirit of the American public education system in terms of its purpose. I think that we have moved away from it. A lot of it has to do with the sputnik moment and a worry that we're not doing good on science, math skills, and STEM, which people have referenced. I think there's a strong argument to

make that civic dispositions and skills are a 21st century skill. It's good for the job market and it's good for being a citizen. There's a couple of points I want to respond to before I maybe break down a little bit what other countries are doing in approaches. To Reuben's point about how political it is or can be, I have not had any leadership positions in universities and have watched from afar and it is incredibly political. I have to say in the K through 12 space, there is a pretty broad agreement on the need for civic education, skills, and dispositions to be part of public education. I'll give some examples. There's a very large coalition called Civics Now. They have very conservative groups and very progressive sort of liberal groups. They focus on sort of the venn diagram on where everyone believes. It's basically most people agree absolutely that you need civic knowledge. There's kind of three parts to any civic education: civic knowledge, and that's really how does a bill become a law, which shockingly a vast majority of Americans can't even name the three branches of government. This is very important and it's when you talk about civic education, we talk about civic education, most people think about your high school civics class. That is one part of civic education. We have learned in the education community that is necessary, but not sufficient actually to create citizens. You need the knowledge and component, and then you need to do work in the public education system around values and dispositions. That's around understanding what is civil discourse. I disagree with you, Richard, a little bit, about civility. I think it's actually a skill to listen. Most people are being trained to speak and not to listen. Actually, we're missing that. I do think it's an important skill. It's engaging with different people. A set of values, Reuben talked about ethics. You can certainly do that at age-appropriate levels across the K through 12 spectrum. Then the third part of civic education, which the education community has come to realize, you need all three and you won't get the outcomes that are quite effective without them, is civic behaviors. Basically, young people need to be able to practice what does it mean to meet with people who are different from themselves, to have a discussion, to try to solve a problem together. That's the part of civic learning that's very important because you're out there practicing. Civic learning is one way to try to practice these civic behaviors that gives young people, we know from lots of evaluations, the confidence to vote, the confidence to show up at a city council meeting, the confidence to join the local PTA, whatever. There's many other ways in public education, through, you don't even necessarily need a separate class, it's just changing how you

teach. You could set up a debate. It could be about any topic, history, science, you can do it on math, but the skill of debating is one. School government, having kids practice these behaviors in school government is another. Extracurricular activities are actually also great ways if you have a sort of raised curriculum into young person's leadership teamwork, etc. Those are sort of the three big elements that civic education encompasses. I would say there is a lot of great examples from outside the U.S., but more importantly, I would -- It's an interesting question that people are asking about models outside the U.S. I would point to models inside the U.S. because there's actually great models in the U.S. They are just highly underfunded; it goes back to our point. They are on the margins. When I look at the education community, the civic education advocates, nonprofits, teachers, are the least paid, less money, have no comms staff. I would say what we should do is actually tap a bunch of these really good models. There's great gains, Sandra Day O'Connor founded something called i-Civics, which is a videogame around teaching how democracy works, how you work together. It's one of the most widely scaled civic education interventions. There's all sorts of great little pockets of models that if we could scale them up, I think would make a real difference. Thanks.

MS. HILL: That's great, Rebecca. Maybe we can do another event that actually showcases some of these as well because I think you're absolutely right. If they don't have their own communications outreach and people don't get to know about them, it's just everybody individually knows of some of them. Not everything has the same reach as the Boy Scouts, for example. Jonathan Koppell from the Watts school in Arizona, you've got a great view of the Grand Canyon behind you. Please don't roll your chair too far back and go off the edge. You have a really unique position at the university, Arizona State University, a very diverse student body. You've actually tried to put this into practice at ASU. You, yourself have devised many programs at the Watts school. I think it will be great for everyone to hear about what you're trying to do and how you've also kind of worked with the community there, which is also extremely diverse and has some specific features that I think will be useful for people out here on the East Coast to hear about as well.

MR. KOPPELL: Thank you, Fiona. It's great to be part of this conversation. I will take Dr. Perry's advice that it is better to show than tell. I think we do have something to show; but let me just

situate a little bit because what a great conversation and there's so many interesting things that I think are directly relevant to what we've been doing here and trying to do. Let me start with something that Dr. Briggerty said. I agree 100%, I've said the same thing, we're not wanting for solutions, we understand these problems. We actually know what to do and we lack the will. I want to mention also, I actually think that we don't even lack the will, we lack necessarily the leadership and we lack the skills and the understanding of how to implement some of the solutions that we want, in some sense, some of the things that Rebecca just talked about. We lack the practice in how to come together and solve problems. I've noted even in this past week how people have gotten better at running their protests because they've had several days to learn how to do it. The protestors have gotten better at sort of regulating other protestors to keep everything under control. I've seen it with my own eyes. You need to learn how to do these things. Democracy requires practice. Dealing with conflict requires practice and we've lost it because, and this I think gets many of the comments, because our society has become so fractured. The interaction among people who are different has become so fraught and so uncommon that we just are lousy at it. I was thinking as Rebecca was talking about Horace Mann, what summed it up, the whole thing for me, she was talking about the values of Horace Mann and public education. Where I grew up, Horace Mann doesn't signal that. Horace Mann is an elite school for rich kids, private school. That's what Horace Mann is where I grew up. If that's not a metaphor for the way we've evolved, I don't know what is. I think there are ways to get at this. What we need to do is to capture the very strong public spiritness among people today. I think we're seeing evidence of that in the protests. If you want to find this silver lining, it's hard, but I know the outpouring of activity, emotion and engagement around what is obviously a crisis moment for our country, is heartening. I agree that this does seem like a watershed moment where something is possible, but it's possible because people care. The question is, how do you take that idea and how do you take that will and translate that into action and give people the tools to be effective and use service as a way to create understanding and interaction as opposed to what Richard said is 100%, where service has actually become a divisive thing. Service programs are often elitist and they don't create opportunities for a variety of people to engage in service activities and service learning, and even when they do, it segregates them into different activities. If we're going to expand service the

way Avril and the Commission have proposed, and I strongly support it, I think we need to multiply by a factor of 10, the number of positions in AmeriCorps, or we need to better fund it. The reality is the reason why the statistics are what Richard said, is because if you're supporting a family, if you're taking care of parents, if you have other responsibilities, you don't have the luxury of going and doing a year of service at a pittance pay. The people who get to do service are those who have the stability in their lives and the other resources in their lives to make it possible. We need to alter the way that public service can be accessed by a broad number of people. I'm dean of the Watt's College of Public Service and Community Solutions at a university, Arizona State University, that has taken as its purpose addressing the massive divisions in our society and the massive inequities in our society. We start from the premise that a university should be seen as an instrument to address those things. We think public service is part of the answer. Lots of universities have adopted public service as something that they promote, but in most cases, universities quite frankly feed the division, feed the elitism, are not part of the solution, are part of the problem right now where educational credentials are handed out as a way to striate the world. We need to be against that. Public service has fed into that, to be honest. What we've created at ASU is something called the Public Service Academy. It's a four-year program, very much premised on the idea that Rebecca talked about, which is giving people an opportunity to practice, giving them the opportunity to engage in civic learning and solve problems. By the way, one of the things we've discovered is the astonishing levels of ignorance that people have regarding how a bill becomes a law, as she put it. I think of it as sort of schoolhouse rock, guide to education. By the way, a bill doesn't become a law the way it's depicted in schoolhouse rock anymore either. We need to update those videos, too. The premise of this four-year program is that young people need to be given the skills to engage. By the way, that's about understanding the public sector, the private sector, and the nonprofit sector because old understanding that you create a government program to solve it, that's not how the world works anymore. That's part of the public service academy. It's giving them internships in each of those sectors. It means creating mission teams where young people are given responsibility to come up with solutions, working in partnership with community organizations, mixing and matching people from different backgrounds to solve problems whether it's issues around domestic violence, whether it's around access to education.

We are very focused on the challenges of our Native American communities and we could have a whole separate conversation if you want to talk about injustice in this country. Let's talk about I think an underdiscussed topic of the Native American communities, which quite frankly, I think most Americans would be shocked if they understood the levels of poverty, dysfunction and pain in our tribal communities. What's amazing to see is how the people who engage in these public service opportunities not only grow and not only gain skills but come up with really good answer to really tough problems and are out there learning as they do good work. If we adopt this idea that public service can be a mechanism by which we bring people together, provide skills, get people on an educational pathway, I think we have the nuggets of a broad solution that we can get behind. I want to offer one thing, which I think is important. Public service doesn't solve anything if it's just this idea like go and sweep up a park or ladle soup out to somebody. This idea that all you have to do is some sort of charitable work, I don't think there's anything wrong with those things, those are good things to do. I'm not discouraging that. There has to be a self-consciousness that what we are building is citizenship and civic competency and embrace that idea. I think you have to recognize the reality of what Dr. Brigety said at the beginning, which is those things are a little fraught. Right? The idea that we have of sort of an agreed upon set of civic principles I think reflects an earlier era which we don't inhabit right now. That's going to be tricky. I also think that even when we did that in the past and had some agreed upon vocabulary of civics and so on, we didn't educate people regarding the historical context of those ideas, so now people struggle with -- people are struggling with I think an understanding of the frustration of part of the population because they don't have any historical context. Right? I've been struck, Dr. Perry, you obviously know this well, it's part of the story behind the home values. I've seen people reacting to stories about FHA redlining and all of the different things that were done to dispossess people of color, through racist implementation of the GI bill. We could go on at some length. People look at that like, really, wow. Educated people, how do you now know that? How do you not have any understanding of the history of this country? I think we can't just take civic education from 1950 or 1920 and import it into the current environment and think it's going to work. We have to figure out how to find common ground in that civic education and bake it into a public service. We can do that. I've created a course on public service to accompany public service. I think it's

possible, but let's not pretend that it's easy. I'll stop my filibuster now and look forward to the yield to the rest of the representatives here, a fantastic group.

MS. HILL: Thank you very much, Jonathan. I know we have a very large group today, but our intents with this as well is to try to kick off more of these discussions. The Commission that Avril is part of, technically wraps up sometime this summer and their whole goal, as Avril can say something else at the end, is to try to get others to pick up the mantle and to actually put this into practice. You're already doing that, Jonathan, at ASU, and you hosted an event for the Commission back in April as well. We're hoping that we will create some connections and network this event too, and maybe some of the people that are listening in will reach out to us, too. We can connect them and they may have ideas that may help ASU, Brookings and perhaps also Reuben as he goes down to the University of the South to come up with ideas of things that we can all do to move this forward. I just wanted to go back to Richard, who I know wanted to just clarify a point that he made. Also, we've had a number of questions Richard, not just about models from other countries, and obviously you were very engaged with us during the coalition government between the conservatives and the liberal democrats in the UK as part of the Cameron Clegg government. This is one of the many issues that you dealt with there. We've had a lot of questions about the role of government officials, local government officials and government officials at different levels, how they could actually engage more strongly on these sets of questions. I notice Reuben mentioned being in the Boy Scouts of America and Richard, I think you and I once talked about Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides in the UK. Obviously, they grew up in a very different context. We had a question here about concepts as global citizenship that came in on the chat. The Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in the UK grow up in a very imperial British context. They did kind of at the time create a sort of sense of belonging to a larger commonwealth. It was kind of an international perspective, but it was really one rooted in an early thinking about the British empire, and obviously that's morphed over time and the U.S. Boy Scouts has moved in a different direction. It was very interesting to think more about how of these entities outside of the school that obviously organized youth groups and nonprofits, junior achievement, all kinds of things have worked in other places and that might also be woven in here. I'll go back to the rest of the group as well, but Richard, just adding some other things for you to think about but I know you wanted to clarify

one of the other points you made.

MR. REEVES: Sure, thanks. I'll be brief and try and respond to those. I think this issue, the local government point and we certainly dealt with this in 2011 during some disturbances in the UK and the research afterwards really demonstrates how important this sense of place is for people. I think the idea of the importance of place has been really reinforced by what we're seeing now with the pandemic. With the services, place-based policy is a very wonky term. I think it's now really taking center stage. We do get the sense of there is this "my place", this is a community that welcomes me. Am I safe here? Actually, it's a reminder that we live in physical places, that we're physical entities. We're not brains on a stick. The feeling of our spaces and places, I think really has come out very strongly from the research. I was a Boy Scout and a volunteer as well. We're all coming out with our scouting histories, but I had some of the same tensions that we identified, which is just kind of an imperialistic view, but actually the youngest scout motto, at least when I was there, the first thing was, be kind or do a good turn. These are some incredibly arcane sounding phrases, but actually it's why Boy Scouts of America was born was because an American visiting London was helped by a scout through the fog of London and said, "Why did you do that?" He said, "because I've been trained that I should just be kind to strangers" and the kindness of strangers isn't a bad way to think about civic infrastructure. The last point I just want to clarify my line about civility. I want to be clear that civility as a value is used differently by different groups. I'm just aware that there are some people who would use civility to argue against the necessarily messy business of protest. We have to be clear that progress and justice is very often a messy business. It sometimes requires, in fact it almost always requires things to get broken, laws get broken sometimes in the pursuit of justice, windows often get broken by the minority. I'm just conscious of the fact that civility in the sense that Rebecca and I think Andre using it and listening to others, I'm actually Mills' biographer. The idea of free speech is dear to me, but as they both say, it's listening that makes free speech valuable, not speaking. I completely agree with everything they've said. I'm just aware that this idea of civility can sometimes imply that the messiness and unpredictability and stuff getting broken, noisy, difficult, and uncomfortable is not what we mean here. That is misused by some. I just wanted to clarify that thought.

MS. HILL: Thanks very much, Richard. That was an important point. I think that the motto of the

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have the same things. You have to do a good turn every day. I also do that now, if I see someone who needs help across the road, I kind of rush off to help. I've had my daughter going, "Mom, what are you doing" because obviously in American, grabbing someone by the arm to help them across the road might be taken the wrong way. It's just an instinct from being in the Girl Guides, if you see somebody who needs some help with something, you rush to do it. I think it's sad that it's taken the wrong way these days and that's actually part of the issue that we're trying to deal with. Andre, I think I'd like to come back to you because there's a good segway there from what Richard was saying about the importance of place. Your book is really about how some of these places where people are their community, they're underfunded, and they're not respected in the ways that other people's communities are. We've had one question in the list here about the relationship between the community and the police. Clearly, this has really deteriorated. We'd all talked before we went live about this question. I was recalling as a kid growing up in the UK, after a lot of the riots that actually Richard was referring to quite recently in Brittan, but they were going on in the 80s when I was at school, our local police force has actually tried to do more outreach to the community. Funding was actually switched away from just the law and order aspects of police, but to more community work. Some police forces actually had whole members of their core who actually were community policemen and women. That was their job, not going out basically enforcing law and order but to go into schools talking to kids, keeping kids away from trouble at the very beginning but also playing more of a role in public safety issues. Andre, it would be really interesting to see if you've been thinking about that. Obviously, this is a pretty fraught time, but this is also an occasion perhaps to think fresh about this again.

MR. PERRY: Yes, I've been saying all the time that there's nothing that says that a black person doesn't belong in the economy like a cop choking them out in the middle of the street in broad daylight. So much about civics education is about who belongs in society and who does not. Yes, I agree that we should be arguing all the time, debating all the time. In some instances, we should be protesting a great deal, but nothing really works, those arguments don't work if you don't belong, if the assumption is you don't belong here. I think that's what is occurring all across the country. We have opportunities for schools and other institutions to respond to this moment affirmatively, but in the past

schools, universities, and other institutions have not broken this cycle of blacks don't belong. For me, the projects we take on in civic education, they have to be place-based because that's where injustice occurs. That's how we live our lives, no question. Those projects have to answer questions around how can we get people who've been ostracized by society to belong in society? You do that first and foremost by creating the structural an equality. I say this loosely, but I do mean it, I could care less about holding hands with my brothers and sisters than I want to see that housing devaluation change. I want to see those outcomes around policing change. For me, if you don't have that architecture of inequality solved, you won't solve for these greater problems.

MR. BRIGETY: Fiona, can I say a word? On this issue of policing, belonging, and going back to the notion of community cohesion and ultimately civic engagement, I have a very close friend who is of a different political party that I am, different political persuasion, and holds a very senior position actually in the current government. Over a dinner party once several years ago after he'd had a few drinks, we got to this question of police killing. Actually, now that I remember, it was after one of these other, I can't remember which one, but after another killing of an unarmed black man by a police officer.

MR. KOPPELL: There's a statement I say, I don't remember which one.

MR. BRIGETY: Yes, it's like here's the thing, it's like black people only care when black people are killed by white cops. Why is that the issue as opposed to ongoing black on black violence in Chicago and other places. I said to him two things, first of all of course, we all care about black on black violence just like white on white violence, which is where the majority of homicides come from. The reason it's different for police officers killing unarmed black men is because it goes to the foundational question of the republic, who is a citizen? Indeed, who is even human? Can we expect as citizens to be treated equally by the agents of the state? The reason that for me the killing of Ahmaud Arbery is at least as compelling if not moreso than just the sheer brutality of the killing of George Floyd, is because these people who are self-appointed guardians of belonging in a white neighborhood of Georgia preemptively decided that Ahmaud Arbery didn't belong there, that they could act as instruments of the state, that they could kill him inadvertently or how you want to think about it, and that the state preemptively took their side and didn't charge them for 74 days and wouldn't have charged them had either the video not come

out and had not the third DA in a row from Atlanta decided that this is something he needed to deal with, too. This goes into again, this foundational question of who are we as a community, literally who belongs? Quite frankly, it's going to bring it all back around to the points that Avril and Rebecca were talking about. This is why this is so fraught, because many of our brother and sister citizens don't even want to hear this discussion. They look at the same fact pattern and simply going to the National Security Advisor of the President of the United States, who is on the record in the last few days saying there is no systemic problem with racism in American policing, notwithstanding all of the data. For me, this is why I think the really hard challenge is trying to figure out how do we even come to a baseline of values from which we can have a further conversation about what ought to be the content of our civic discussion and civic education as a means of building a stronger democracy?

MS. HILL: This is a very important -- Sorry, I can't see who was trying to come in here, but I think it was just basically, is that Rebecca, you were trying to come in as well and Jonathan? It gets to the issue that Jonathan raised about putting everything in historical context. I think that what everyone is saying, you can't strip this out of the broader educational fabric either because you have to understand exactly how this has come about. Rebecca, do you want to come in and then Jonathan, on this point?

MS. WINTHROP: Sure. I think it's really an important point. To get a little more theoretical in the education theory of citizenship building, there is basically what Andre, Richard, and Reuben were saying is, you can't just talk the talk, you have to walk the walk, too. In the world of education, K through 12, there's what's called the explicit curriculum. That's what's in the textbook, what's taught. Then there's the hidden curriculum. It's hard for young people to take in this idea that we're all equal. We're talking about justice at the moment, equal under the law, and then they go back to their neighborhoods and they see that we're not. Or, what can schools do about this? What are policies around discipline in schools? We know that African American boys in particular are absolutely disciplined and expelled at much larger numbers for the same infractions as white students. It extends down to everything. There are two parts to doing citizenship education in schools. One is the explicit curriculum and the other is the hidden curriculum. I think that the explicit curriculum is where there's less debate. I think it's the hidden curriculum, because that gets to actual structural racism or structural sexism or you can name it, but it's

structures that keep kids from having an equal opportunity experience even within education that can be quite contentious. Just to answer the part somebody asked about global citizenship. There is a couple of great examples, two of the countries in the world that are historically on our watch list of doing great on citizenship in schools are Colombia and Latin American, who several years ago they've been at civil war for decades. Several years ago, said oh my gosh, we're, it looks like for the first time in decades and decades, we are going to be in a country without a civil war. Our students, our people have no skills to be able to live in peace time and be able to work in peace time. They actually have, as part of their national curriculum, they have an entire citizenship assessment. It's right alongside reading and math, etc. One thing I will say there, it gets again to Reuben's point. I remember, we've done for many years projects on global citizenship and worked with different countries around the world to try to figure out what the core competencies are. Columbia was one of them and at one point, the government got a little scared because there was a big consult of the process groups came up with how you should assess being a good citizen. A lot of it came -- there was a lot of critical thinking, critical dialogues looking at structural inequality and that made them very nervous. They rolled back actually and said, you know what, we don't want them thinking that critically. It is actually a tension between what Jonathan was saying. It's not really that we don't know what to do, it's how do you give political leaders the safe space to be able to do that knowing that it might become very messy.

MS. HILL: Jonathan, go ahead.

MR. KOPPELL: Quick comment, because I thought that Reuben's response to his friend at the dinner party was quite important and profound to help people understand the difference. I think one thing that pops into my mind, I think one of the reasons why honestly white people or the majority are responding differently at this moment is this unique alchemy of videos that came together at once. You have the Arbery video. I don't think enough attention is paid to that Christian Cooper Central Park video, because what that showed is that everybody watched what that woman did, and we all knew exactly what she was doing. We all knew exactly what she was doing, and we all knew in that instant this always pounding sub-basement of racial inequity that we all live upon and it's the stability of our footing is right there, and it was all manifestly obvious in that instant second. Then, right after that we see it dramatically

with the murder of George Floyd reinforced. The coming together of those things underscores the reality and underscores our tacit acceptance of that reality and we were opened up to being educated. That's the main point I want to sort of underscore, which is education, everything that we're talking about, only happens if people are open to it. By the way, there was probably a glass or wine or two before Reuben gave that explanation, which made that conversation possible, whereas other people might not have --

MR. BRIGETY: It was one, but it's all good.

MR. KOPPELL: You know what I'm saying, right? That actually helped in a way. You have to find that perfect balance, one or two glasses helps and then you go off the wrong direction. Right? We need to figure out how to do this and have these conversations where everybody's not defensive, accusatory and resistant to learning. That gets to this civility question. One of the benefits that -- I'm an East Coast guy, New York - Washington corridor. I've benefitted tremendously by being in Arizona because you can't make assumptions about what the person next to you thinks. We've got the full range of political and social beliefs and you can't judge somebody by their skin color either in terms of what their political beliefs are. Every conversation has to be framed in such a way that people are open to the idea of learning and you're not making assumptions about how they're coming into the conversation. If we're going to use service as a bridge towards civic education and addressing some of these issues, it has to be approached in such a way that you retain and indeed cultivate that openness or it won't accomplish the things that we're hoping that it will accomplish that Reuben talked about at the beginning. We know the solutions. Once the doors drop and people are closed, it doesn't matter. They're not listening. They're not learning. They're not hearing all the things that have been mentioned before.

MS. HILL: One of the things about opening doors, we've had a question, we had it in the webinar on May 4th and we didn't really tackle it. They've been asking about nonprofits, Junior Achievement, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts. We often get a question about artists and public art. We could also put this out to celebrities and sports figures as well. We've seen an awful lot of people stepping into this space and opening doors. I just saw on the internet recently one of the country stars sharing a beer and sort of sitting down to have these kinds of conversations that maybe he wouldn't normally, to try to kind of open a door. I think obviously, art opens doors. Sometimes art is on doors and it's on walls.

Murals and other public art can have a major impact here. They're in public spaces and communities. Here in D.C., there's a very vibrant public art movement that we can all see, out West as well, places like Los Angeles and elsewhere. I wonder if anybody would like to comment on this and think about how public art/artists can open doors and try to strengthen civic bonds here. Often, getting on Richard's point about dream hoarders, art, music, if it's classical music or art and museums, it's often seen again as something that is for the privileged. I have a friend back home in the UK who is actually trying to open up museums and all of the collections for kids who would never go inside a museum because their school doesn't have the funding to take them on school trips. He's trying to get museums. God knows how this will work now with the pandemic, but an actual fact, you now have collections now online but to try and get a kid who would never get a chance to go inside of a museum to be able to go in there and just see what's available. I don't know if Andre, Reuben, Richard, or anybody wants to also come in on this for this specific question.

MR. PERRY: I wasn't a Boy Scout, so that might be my problem right now, but I will say that I was a member of the orchestra and I did play sports. What I learned in the orchestra, one, it allowed me to meet different people I probably would not have come in contact with. More importantly, we could see the physical manifestation of working together, reading from the same sheet music. What's missing in public education now, in my opinion, is that whereas religious organizations or religious schools have the Bible or the Quran or whatever as their moral doctrine, I honestly don't see that moral doctrine of the Constitution in schools. Either it's presented in a hyperpolitical way or it's not touched at all in fear that it doesn't address minority groups. What I think is missing is this moral, this doctrine that people can then read from the same score, so to speak. We can then rally behind something together. That's what I think is missing from public schools, in particular.

MS. HILL: That's a really great point, Andre, and an excellent metaphor. Having also been in an orchestra and not a very good orchestra I have to say, there's nothing worse when you're all playing out of tune and not following along with the score. It's painful for everybody and that's really where we now. It's painful for everybody and I think that's a really important point that you've made there. Unfortunately, we haven't got a lot more time here and I think what I hope is that we'd be able to do some more of these

events as we move forward. I know the Brookings colleagues have a lot to say on this. I do hope that everyone will buy Andre's book and also Rebecca's, Richard's, and hopefully, Jonathan will be able to share with everyone more of an idea of what they have done at ASU in the Watts school to really deal with a very diverse student body and to really come and try to put this into action. Jonathan has actually said to me in the chat here that Watts College is trying to work with an arts college to put this into action. As I said, it has to, as Andre has said, really have a sense of what you're trying to do here. You're not just trying to do it for the sake of promoting the arts, but exactly to get people to have what Jonathan was also saying as well about the practice of working together. Reuben, I'm sure we'll all be watching you very closely with your new position, a very important position at the University of the South at a very important time. To wrap up, I'd like to go back to Avril because Avril, maybe you could tell us a little bit about the Commission going out of business so to speak. You obviously want the business of thinking about public service and what we can do to move forward. You probably might have some thoughts about what all of us could be doing. Again, I'd like to try to capture, and I know that my Brookings colleagues will be doing that, some of the very important points that have been made here, but you perhaps have some closing thoughts for us.

MS. HAINES: If it's alright, I'd just like to say a thing or two on the artist piece, too. There's such a long history and I know everybody knows this, but of art being used as a method of protest. I think it is one of the most extraordinary ways of communicating in many respects. It gets very much to I think something that both Reuben and Andre mentioned in different ways. Reuben talked about the need for a baseline in values. Andre's comment just now about a very similar thing. Basically, to say that art and the fact that we need to actually adjust the culture. When people talk to us about can service overcome racism, I think it can be part of the solution but it's not going to eradicate racism. The reality is we're going to need to do an enormous amount of work to address the systemic racism in our country. I think, obviously others have spoken to this point, I do think that service can actually be part of the solution on the following ways, and just to highlight them. I think through service and through civics action, you essentially have an opportunity to engender empathy and to really start to understand how people who are not like you, who live in different communities, who live in different circumstances, how they see the

world and have an opportunity to recognize that and maybe bring value to each other through that process. A second piece of it from my perspective is through civics action and through service, there's a sense of empowerment. It's a sense of it's not just about the history lessons, and people have noticed it's actually about going through the process and seeing that through your action you can make change. You can address the challenges that in fact, you see in your society and that you see injustice. This is a way in which to try to actually change it. It is frequently not nearly as successful as it ought to be, but there is nevertheless the opportunity, and the more we push on those spaces the more opportunities we have, particularly if we change the infrastructure to actually have a more inclusive and diverse service and civics action space within which to operate. Those are two pieces. A third piece that I think is complicated but worth mentioning is really the opportunity to have coherence in the society. This is one that in many respects to the global citizen point, when we went around the country, we saw how many young people were interested in volunteering, doing service, and in helping their communities? Extraordinary passion for these issues, but they are focused locally and globally, and the tend not to be focused nationally. Creating that sense of we are in this together and recognizing that we have these common experiences, I think is critical, even though I recognize, and this was a conversation we had explicitly with many of them, how much distrust they have in the government. Some of it is justified. It's a question of really changing it through these processes and seeing if we can actually evolve into the society that they want to be. I think that's a piece of what all of this brings together. In terms of next steps and the Commission and what we hope for, frankly, the most important thing that could happen next is that legislation be passed, that Congress take action to fund many of the programs that we know need to be funded, that so many of the 164 recommendations that we have made get acted on in order to create the opportunities that we're talking about. Thank you so much, really fascinating conversation. Enjoyed listening to it.

MS. HILL: Thank you very much, Avril. Thank you, to all of the panelists. As I said, I hope we'll be able to do some more of these discussions and would like to wish Reuben all the very best as he moves on to his new position. Thank Jonathan for all the work that ASU is doing and hopefully, people can check out on the ASU website some of the curricula. Richard, thank you very much for joining us and giving the perspective based on the work that you've been doing. Andre, every best wish for your book

and hope that people will pay attention. Similarly, with Rebecca, who has got her book on leapfrogging inequality. There's a lot of great research there in all of these works from our colleagues that I think we can hopefully, as Avril says, as we look at some of the legislature and get more resources, some of the recommendations there can also see their way to being implemented. I'd like to thank everybody else for joining us and for all of the questions. I think one way or another, we did touch on many of the questions that we got through. Many were clearly very engaged and serious participants in this webinar today. Thank you very much to everyone. I really appreciate it. Thank you. Bye-bye.

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

Notary Public in and for the Commonwealth of Virginia

Commission No. 351998

Expires: November 30, 2020